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A NOTE ON EXPRESSIONS OF INVOLUNTARY EXPERIENCE IN THE SHINA OF SKARDU

By PETER EDWIN HOOK

Sixty-five years ago, in brief remarks devoted to the Shina of Dras, Bailey¹ noted an unusual construction associated with the verb *lezhonu* 'to get':

'The construction of this verb is remarkable. It takes the dative, like the Urdu *milnā*, and yet agrees in person and gender with the word which is in the dative case. Thus we have

more paisā lezhim, I shall get a pice.

A literal translation of this in Urdu would be

mujhe paisā milūgā...

In fact, the same oddity had been observed some fifty years before by R. B. Shaw² in his notes to a short text in the Shina of Dras:

'... *moñ-re ā jawāb lādos*.
me to this answer arrived.

Here the verb seems to be governed by the person of the Locative or Dative as in other cases it is by that of the Instrumentative (= ergative, PEH). Normally one would think this ought to be

moñ-re ā jawāb lādo
me to this answer reached (3rd pers.)
or
moñ ā jawāb (lādos)
I this answer received (1st pers.)...

Recently in the course of field-work in northern Pakistan,³ we encountered the same construction in the Shina spoken in the vicinity of Skardu:

The Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina (Shinā) language* (London, 1924), 280. I have retained Bailey's transcription.

R. B. Shaw, 'Stray Arians in Tibet', *JASB*, 47, 1878, 56. The transcription is Shaw's.
The data presented in this paper were collected over a four-day period spent in Skardu in the summer of 1987, during the first phase of a survey of the languages of the Indus Valley undertaken by me and my student, Dr. Elena Bashir. That survey comprises the linguistic component of a multidisciplinary study of Pakistani culture, organized by Dr. Wilma Heston under the joint direction of Professor William Hanaway of the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. Uxi Mufti, Director of Lok Virsa, Islamabad. I gratefully acknowledge the financial and administrative support of the Smithsonian Institution, the guidance of Dr. Adam Nayyar of Lok Virsa, and the assistance of Mr. M. Baig (Gilgit) and Mr. S. M. Abbas Qazmi (Skardu) in making local arrangements and obtaining introductions.

Skardu is about 80 kilometres to the north of Dras. Our informants there were Mr. Ghulam Mahat, about 30 years of age, an employee of the Forest Department stationed in Skardu and a resident of Satpara (known locally as *sāspar*), about 16 kilometres south by south-west of Skardu, and Mr. Sahab, 55 years of age, retired after 19 years military service to his native village Tandal, about 14 kilometres west of Skardu. Like many settlements of Shina speakers in Baltistan, Satpara and Tandal (T) are located on the flanks and high valleys of the Deosai Mountains on the left bank of the Indus. Skardu itself is Balti-speaking and our informants, like nearly all the Shins (in Balti known as *Brokpas*) living in Baltistan, were bilingual in Balti and Shina (Brokshat). For this study we used Urdu, the chief language of literacy in the area.

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3. *mo-re ani byēbhjune bilā lāl-us*
me-DT these eggs yesterday got-1 s.⁶
'I got these eggs yesterday.' (T)

Furthermore, contrary to what one might infer from the information by Shaw and Bailey, the construction is not limited to a single verb 'get'.

4. *mo-re tho muṣ amoṣ-us*
me-DT your word forgot-1 s.
'I forgot what you said.' (T)
5. *tu-re myo muṣ parud-ey-ā*
you-DT my word heard-2 s.-QM
'Did you hear what I said?' (T)

The data we have gathered, while by no means complete, are sufficient to form a preliminary impression of the syntax and semantics of these constructions and make an informed guess about their origins.

In addition to *lēj*- 'obtain', *paruj*- 'hear; understand' and *amoṣ*- 'forget' the construction occurs with the following predicates:

paš- 'see':

6. *tu-re jip paš-āi*
you-DT jeep see-2 s. P
'You saw the jeep.' (S)

asako paš- 'dislike':

7. *e mulāi gā mo-re asak-i paš-emas*
that girl-NM too me-DT bad-f. see-1 s. PR
'I don't like that girl, either.' (T)

si(o)/khaco daṣt- 'like/dislike':

8. *salim-ere aṅgrezi kitābe si-ē daṣt-on*
salim-DT English books good-f. p. seem-3 s. PR
'Salim likes English books.' (S)

⁵ The system used here for the transcription of Shina data from areas other than Gilgit is that used in R. L. Turner's *Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*. The sound represented by 'j' seems to vary in Skardu dialect between [j] and [ʒ].

⁶ Abbreviations used in this paper include:

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person |
| CP | affix of conjunctive participle |
| DT | dative case or postposition |
| ER | ergative case or postposition |
| f. m. | feminine, masculine gender |
| G | Shina of Gilgit |
| GN | genitive case or postposition |
| IN | instrumental case or postposition |
| NM | nominative case |
| P | past tense affix |
| PR | present tense affix |
| QM | question marker |
| s. p. | singular, plural number |
| S | from village Satpara (Skardu) |
| T | from village Tandal (Skardu) |

⁷ The Shina of Skardu agrees with Drasi in having the dative-of-agreement with *lēj*. Although we cannot conclude anything from their silence, neither Shaw nor Bailey mentions the construction as characteristics of other predicates in Drasi.

9. *āo bāl mo-re kl*
that boy-NM me-DT b.
'I dislike(d) that boy.' (T)

tāto daṣt- 'feel hot':

10. *mo-re tāto daṣt-ās*
me-DT heat feel-1 s. f.
'I feel hot.' (lit: 'I felt h

sujon b-/h- 'recognize/know':

11. *mo-re tu sujon*
me-DT you-NM know
'I recognized you.' (T)
12. *o manuṣo-re mo suj*
that man-DT I-NM know
'That man knows me.' (T)

skomuṣ- 'be thirsty' (< Balti *sko*

13. *mo-re vāi gā sko*
me-DT water too thir
'I'm thirsty, too.' (T)

phikir b- 'worry, be concerned (th

14. *mo-re jwāl hut-e*
me-DT morning rise-CP
'I'm worried that I hav
morning...' (T)

Perusing this list, one notices a meaning to those predicates in other so-called 'dative-of-subject' constructions. In Urdu, for example:

15. *mujh-ko ye aṇḍ-e*
me-DT these egg-m. p.
'I got these eggs yesterday
16. *mujh-ko tumhāri bāt*
me-DT your word
'I forgot what you said.' (T)
17. *tum-ko jīp dikhāi d*
you-DT jeep showing g
'You saw the jeep.' (cf. ex
18. *salīm ko aṅgrezī kitābē*
salīm DT English books
'Salim likes English books

⁸ 'Dative (of) subject' is the term common to a linguistic area: *South Asia* (Chicago, 1976). 'Aryan', *Indian Linguistics* 46, 3, 1985, provides bases for modifying the terminology.

⁹ The standard construction, of course, is:
(a) *māi tumhāri bāt bhūl gayā*
I-NM your word forget went
'I forgot what you said.'
with nominative case for (and verbal agreement for) forgets.

do bāl mo-re khac-o dašt-ās
that boy-NM me-DT bad-m. seem-1 s. P
'I dislike(d) that boy.' (S)

mo-re tāto dašt-ās
me-DT heat feel-1 s. P
'I feel hot.' (lit: 'I felt heat.') (T)

mo-re tu sujon bil-us
me-DT you-NM known became-1 s.
'I recognized you.' (T)

o manužo-re mo sujon h-on
that man-DT I-NM known be-3 s. PR
'That man knows me.' (T)

mo-re vāi gā skomuš-emus
me-DT water too thirst-1 s. PR
'I'm thirsty, too.' (T)

mo-re jwāl hut-e buj-oni phikir b-omus...
me-DT morning rise-CP go-INF worry become-1 s. PR
'I'm worried that I have to get up and go (somewhere) in the morning...' (T)

Perusing this list, one notices that many of the items on it correspond in meaning to those predicates in other South Asian languages which require the so-called 'dative-of-subject' construction (better termed the 'dative-of-agent'.⁸ In Urdu, for example:

mujh-ko ye and-e kal mil-e
me-DT these egg-m. p. yesterday get-m. p. P.
'I got these eggs yesterday.' (cf. ex. 3)

mujh-ko tumhārī bāt bhūl gāī
me-DT your word forget went
'I forgot what you said.' (cf. ex. 4)

tum-ko jēp dikhāī dī
you-DT jeep showing gave
'You saw the jeep.' (cf. ex. 6)

salīm ko āngrezī kitābē acchī lagī hāī
salīm DT English books good seem are
'Salim likes English books.' (cf. ex. 8)

⁸ 'Dative (of) subject' is the term commonly found in studies such as Colin P. Masica's *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia* (Chicago, 1976). My 'Coexistent analyses and participant roles in Indo-Aryan', *Indian Linguistics* 46, 3, 1985, provides a detailed discussion of the syntactic and conceptual bases for modifying the terminology.

The standard construction, of course, is:
(cf. *andī tumhārī bāt bhūl gāvā*)
I-NM your word forget went
'I forgot what you said.'

With nominative case for (and verbal agreement with) the noun phrase that expresses the person who forgets.

19. *mujh-ko garmī lagī*
me-DT heat hit
'I felt/feel hot.' (cf. ex. 10)

Furthermore, as is true in general of dative-of-agent expressions in Urdu and other South Asian languages, these 'datives-of-agreement' in Shina express actions and events not subject to the will or control of their experiencers. A contrast in point is with predicates like *çak-* 'look at' or *kon d-* 'listen to' (lit. 'give ear') where perception results from a conscious directing of attention toward a source. With these the dative-of-agreement is not possible:

20. (a) *mo-re ā ciş paş-emus*
me-DT that mountain-NM see-1 s. PR
'I see that mountain.' (T)
(b) *mu-su ā ciş-ere çak-emus*
I-ER that mountain-DT look-1 s. PR
'I'm looking at that mountain.' (T)
21. (a) *bilā mo-re reḍiyu parud-us*
yesterday me-DT radio heard-1 s.
'Yesterday I heard the radio.' (T)
(b) *bilā mu-su dōs-is nālā reḍio kon d-ās*
yesterday I-ER friend-? with radio ear give-1 s. P
'Yesterday I listened to the radio with friends.'

However, not every predicate of involuntary perception or intellection governs a dative-of-agreement:

22. *mo-re mişto gun-ek oñ*
me-DT good smell-a come-3 s. PR
'I smell a good smell.' (T)
23. *mo-re lā-i unyāl āl-i*
me-DT much-f. thirst (f.) came-f.
'I am very thirsty.' (cf. ex. 13) (S)
24. *mulāi-tye bāl pasan(d) h-oñ*
girl-DT boy(m) pleasant be-3 s. m. PR
'The girl likes the boy.' (S) (cf. exx. 8 and 18)

Furthermore, the dative-of-agreement sometimes alternates with the ergative:

25. *salim se ani kitāb si daşt-ao*
Salim ER this book (f.) good seem-3 s. m. P
'Salim liked (= likes) this book.' (T) (cf. ex. 8)
26. *tu-su jip paş-āi*
you-ER jeep see-2 s. P
'You saw the jeep.' (S) (cf. ex. 6)

or even the nominative (cf. exx. 3 and 5):

27. *mo pon-gi yažo-ze ek rupāy lāl-us*
I-NM road-IN walk-ing one rupee found-1 s.
'I found a rupee while walking along the road.' (S)

as-bilā ani bālī zabān amos-ēnēn
 nowadays these boys-NM language forget-3 p. PR
 Nowadays kids are forgetting the language.' (T)

as-bilā

experiencers

The use of the ergative or the nominative rather than the dative case for experiencers in clauses featuring the predicates listed in 3 through 14 occurred in about thirty per cent of the relevant data. Three quarters of the variation between 'see; regard' which for speaker (T) usually requires the dative but for speaker (S) almost always takes the ergative.¹⁰

Dative-of-agreement noun phrases exhibit the syntactic properties characteristic of [±agent] noun phrases in other dialects of Shina.¹¹ They trigger deletion of coreferential agents of non-finite clauses under conjunction:

deletion

II. lān oq-oq-e mo-re chāi lāl-us
 much search-search-CP me-DT key-NM got-1 s.
 '(After) looking and looking I found (my) key.' (T)

They permit (but do not require: cf. ex 31) the use of the reflexive possessive

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mo-re
 mo-re tomo mukh na paš-ās
 me-DT self's face not see-1 s. P
 'I didn't see my face.' (T)

II. mo-re mei chāi ne lāl-us
 me-DT my key not got-1 s.
 'I didn't find my key.' (T)

In Shina the transitivity of a predicate is consistently indicated by its configurational class in the preterite: If intransitive the masculine first person singular ends in -os or -us; if transitive, it ends in -ās or -yās (Gurez, Dras, Sarda)¹² or in -ēegas or -iigas (Gilgit).¹³ Considering the morphological properties of the dozen or so predicates which I have identified as allowing the dative-of-agreement and comparing them with their cognates in other dialects, we find that of them one is opaque:¹⁴

12(a) skomus- 'be thirsty' < Balti skom 'thirsty'.

Four are morphologically intransitive and when present in other dialects do not show agreement with their experiencer noun phrases:

¹⁰ The figures are 21 datives to 10 ergatives for speaker (T) versus 19 ergatives to 3 datives for speaker (S) (in their use of paš). This difference in the preferences of the two speakers accords with a local tradition of a Chilas origin for the Shins of Satpara. It is possible that their speech (still a form of Chilas?) R. M. Emerson, 'Charismatic kingship: a study of state-formation and authority in Pakistan', *Journal of Central Asia*, 7, 1984, p. 130, n. 16) has been gradually but not completely influenced by a dialect such as Tandal's spoken by Shins indigenous to the area.

¹¹ I was able to inform myself on the relevant syntactic points from speakers of Gilgit and Gurez

¹² See Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina*, op. cit.; Col. David L. R. Lorimer, 'The forms and nature of the transitive verb in Shina (Gilgit dialect)', *BSOS*, 3, 1924, 467-93; Ruth L. Schmidt, 'Morphological criteria for distinguishing categories of transitivity in Shina', in Arlene R. K. Zide, David Mager and Eric Schiller (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conference on Participant Roles: South Asia and adjacent areas* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1985), 33-47.

¹³ Gilgit Shina data are from Mr. Muhammad Amin Zia in a transcription that he developed with George Budhruss. It recognizes the distinction between vowels accented on the first as opposed to the second mora, thus requiring the use of a digraph to indicate length. See Zia's *šinā qāidā aur* (Gilgit, 1986, for discussion).

¹⁴ If the *š* in *skomus* is a misheard *š* then the form may be analysable as *skom(u) š-emus* where *š-emus* < *šono* 'to attach' (cf. Urdu *lagānā*).

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